

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-02 CU-02 SAM-01 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /079 W
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O R 271915Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4137

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4972

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJ: CSCE: FOLLOW-UP: SWEDES PRODUCE FIRST REVISED COMPOSITE TEXT

REF: GENEVA 4950

1. AT FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP MEETING JUNE 27, SWEDISH
COORDINATOR PRODUCED FIRST REVISED COMPOSITE VERSION OF
PARTIAL FOLLOW-UP TEXTS DISCUSSED DURING WEEK. THIS NEW TEXT
ENTIRELY IGNORES SOVIET DESIRE FOR GREATER POLITICAL EMPHASIS IN
FOLLOW-UP, WHICH HAS GAINED VERY LITTLE SUPPORT SO FAR;
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AND FINELY BALANCES CONTINUITY ISSUE BY MAINTAINING REFERENCE

TO MEETINGS IN THE PLURAL, BUT LEAVING IT TO THE PREPARATORY MEETING IN 1977 TO SETTLE DETAILS CONCERNING THE SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING. CONTROL IS ASSURED BY MAINTAINANCE OF CSCE CONSENSUS PRINCIPLE. TEXT HAS ALSO BEEN SIMPLIFIED IN OTHER RESPECTS. SWEDISH COORDINATOR IS, OF COURSE, AWARE THAT TEXTS IMPLEMENTATION LANGUAGE WILL HAVE TO BE MODIFIED TO MEET US NEEDS IN DISCUSSION NEXT WEEK. TO FACILITATE THIS ASPECT OF PROBLEM ALL REFERENCES TO "DECISIONS" HAVE NOW BEEN REMOVED, EVEN IN PREVIOUSLY AGREED-TO THIRD PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH. TEXT FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN TEXT:

THE PARTICIPATING STATES,

--HAVING CONSIDERED AND EVALUATED THE PROGRESS MADE AT THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE;

--CONSIDERING FURTHER THAT, WITHIN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF THE WORLD, THE CONFERENCE IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY AND DEVELOPING CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE AND THAT ITS RESULTS WILL CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY TO THIS PROCESS;

--DETERMINED/DESIRING TO IMPLEMENT THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE IN ORDER TO GIVE FULL EFFECT TO ITS RESULTS AND THUS TO FURTHER THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY AND DEVELOPING CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE;

--CONVINCED THAT, IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE AIMS SOUGHT BY THE CONFERENCE, THEY SHOULD MAKE FURTHER UNILATERAL, BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL EFFORTS AND CONTINUE, IN THE APPROPRIATE FORMS SET FORTH BELOW, THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS INITIATED BY THE CONFERENCE,

(1) WILL, IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE CONFERENCE, PAY DUE REGARD TO AND IMPLEMENT THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT/DOCUMENTS OF THE CSCE:

(A) UNILATERALLY, WHEN THEY LEND THEMSELVES TO ACTION BY THE STATES INDIVIDUALLY;

(B) BILATERALLY BY NEGOTIATIONS WITH OTHER PARTICIPATING
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STATES;

(C) MULTILATERALLY, BY MEETINGS OF EXPERTS OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES, AND ALSO WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE AND UNESCO, ACCORDING TO THE COMPETENCE OF EACH;

(2) AGREE TO CONVENE MEETINGS OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES IN ORDER TO:

(A) UNDERTAKE EXCHANGES OF VIEWS AND INFORMATION ON HOW THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT;

(B) CONSIDER WAYS AND MEANS OF ENSURING THE CONTINUITY OF THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS, INCLUDING THE CONVENING OF A FURTHER CONFERENCE, AND THEREBY TO FURTHER THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY AND DEVELOPING CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE;

(3) DECIDE THAT THE FIRST MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS SHALL BE HELD ATIN 1977. A PREPARATORY MEETING TO ORGANIZE THE FIRST MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS SHALL BE HELD ATON THE PREPARATORY MEETING SHALL DECIDE ON THE DATE, DURATION, AGENDA AND OTHER MODALITIES OF THE MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS;

(4) DECIDE THAT THE RULES OF PROCEDURE AND FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE SHALL BE APPLICABLE TO THE MEETINGS OF SENIOR OFFICIALS AND TO THE PREPARATORY MEETINGS, AND ALSO TO THE EXPERT MEETINGS REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH 1 (C). THE MEETINGS OF SENIOR OFFICIALS SHALL BE HELD IN THE PARTICIPATING STATES IN ROTATION. THE SERVICES OF A TECHNICAL SECRETARIAT SHALL BE PROVIDED BY THE HOST COUNTRY.

END TEXT.

3. IN ENSUING INFORMAL WORKING GROUP DISCUSSION THIS FURTHER REVISION OF TEXT RECEIVED WIDE APPROBATION, TO EXTENT THAT, FOR FIRST TIME IN HISTORY OF FOLLOW-UP NEGOTIATIONS, SENSE EMERGED THAT FINAL COMPROMISE MIGHT SOON BE POSSIBLE.

4. EC-NINE AND MAJORITY OF NATO VIEW WAS REFLECTED BY DANES, WHO CONGRATULATED SWEDES ON THIS FURTHER STEP;
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REITERATED STANDARD NINE RESERVATIONS ON "MEETINGS" IN THE PLURAL; AND RESERVED POSITION ON PARA 1 C AND PARA 4, ON GROUNDS THEY DID NOT PROVIDE FOR SUFFICIENT CONTROL OVER CALLING OF NEW EXPERTS MEETINGS AND MIGHT THEREFORE

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 4972

FOR EUR/RPM

INVITE ABUSES. US FOLLOWED WITH SUPPORT OF DANISH COMMENTS,
ADDING THAT WE WILL OFFER FURTHER COMMENTS, PARTICULARLY
WITH RESPECT TO IMPLEMENTATION LANGUAGE AT NEXT WORKING
GROUP MEETING JUNE 30. (SEE SEPTTEL).

5. CZECHS, SPEAKING FOR SOVIET BLOC THEN JOINED IN
GENERAL PRAISE ABOVE DRAFT, WHICH THEY SAID THEY COULD
ACCEPT. WITH THREE CHANGES, I.E.:

A) TO REPLACE PARA 1 A) OF TEXT WITH: BEGIN

TEXT: (A) UNILATERALLY IN ALL CASES WHICH LEND
THEMSELVES TO SUCH ACTION;" END TEXT.

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B) TO REPLACE PARA 2 (A) AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT: "UNDERTAKE EXCHANGES OF VIEWS AND
INFORMATION ON THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT OF
DETENTE IN THE CONTEXT OF REALIZATION OF
DECISIONS AND TASKS OF THE CONFERENCE".

END TEXT.

C) TO REPLACE FIRST SENTENCE PARA 4 AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT: "..., THAT MEETINGS ENVISAGED
IN PARAGRAPHS 1 (C), 2 AND 3 WILL CONDUCT THEIR
AFFAIRS IN THE LIGHT OF THE WORKING PROCEDURES
OF THE CONFERENCE". END TEXT.

D) THAT ALL REFERENCES TO "SENIOR OFFICIALS" BE
CHANGED TO "AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVES".

6. SUBSEQUENT COMMENTS SUGGESTED THAT CZECH SUGGESTIONS

A), C) AND D) WERE LIKELY NOT TO PROVE DIFFICULT TO DEAL
WITH. HOWEVER, THERE WAS ONCE AGAIN NO SUPPORT FOR
CZECH SUGGESTION (B), WHICH OF COURSE INVOLVES CENTRAL
SOVIET FOLLOW-UP PREOCCUPATION OF "POLITIZING" PROCESS.
SWEDISH COORDINATOR NEVERTHELESS SAID, HALF-HEARTEDLY, THAT
HE WOULD "TRY" TO DRAFT COMPROMISE ON THIS POINT BY JUNE 30,
BUT MADE NO PROMISES.

7. ROMANIANS AND FRENCH ALSO SIGNALLED THAT TEXT WAS
MOVING CLOSER TO ACCEPTABILITY. ROMANIANS, CLAIMING
THAT TEXT WILL BE "HARD TO SELL IN BUCHAREST", SAID THAT
PERIODICITY MUST STILL BE STRENGTHENED; AND AGAIN IN-
SISTED ON "ANNUAL" MEETINGS AND START OF "ONE OR TWO"
EXPERTS GROUPS BEFORE 1977. ROMANIANS ARE ALSO CONCERNED
THAT 1977 SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING COULD STILL VIRTUALLY
STOP THE PROCESS, SINCE NO FUTURE DATES ARE SET. FRENCH
FOR THEIR PART POINTED TO REFERENCE IN NEW TEXT
TO "ENSURING CONTINUITY" WHICH THEY CALLED A HUGE
CONCESSION, AND AGAIN, ALTHOUGH LESS CONVINCINGLY,
REITERATED THAT THERE ARE OTHER WAYS OF DES-
CRIBING CONTINUITY THAN "MEETINGS" IN THE PLURAL.

8. FOR COMIC RELIEF, REPRESENTATIVE OF LICHTENSTEIN
ALSO SPOKE UP EARNESTLY FOR FIRST TIME IN THIS GROUP'S
MEMORY, SAYING THAT HIS ONLY TROUBLE WITH TEXT WAS
THAT HIS COUNTRY WAS NEITHER MEMBER OF ECE OR OECD.
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(PARA 1 (C)).

9. MEETING ADJOURNED WITH STATEMENT BY SWEDISH CO-
ORDINATOR TO AFFECT THAT IT WAS NOW ESSENTIAL THAT
GOVERNMENTS REFLECT ON THE EMERGING FOLLOW-UP CONSENSUS
OVER WEEKEND, AND PROVIDE FURTHER VIEWS BY AFTERNOON
JUNE 30.

10. COMMENT AND REQUESTED ACTION: AS INDICATED
SEPTTEL WE INTEND TO PRESENT US POSITION ON IMPLEMENTATION
LANGUAGE AT JUNE 30 MEETING. IN VIEW OF THE NOW VERY
RAPID PACE OF WORK ON FOLLOW-UP, WHICH FOR MANY

DELEGATIONS IS ESSENTIAL PRE-CONDITION FOR SETTING
STAGE III DATE, IT IS VIRTUALLY ESSENTIAL THAT WE ALSO
HAVE BY THEN ANY OTHER GENERAL OR SPECIFIC COMMENTS
DEPARTMENT MAY HAVE ON ABOVE TEXT.DALE

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